

[Post-Chaco Period] Terena

He celebrates St. Anthony's Day and participates in the "bate-pau" dance. He often gets drunk and stays away from work.

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FARMER

José Francisco, nicknamed Japão because of his short stature (native name *Kohilu*), is 58 years old. His great-grandfather was Tovólé, one of the chiefs who led the Terena into Brazil. His grandfather also came from the Chaco, but his father was born in Ipegue, a Terena village, near Bananal. Japão was born on a fazenda, called Agua Tirada. He has four sons and three daughters living, and four sons and a daughter dead.

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Japão lives in an adobe house to which three additional rooms have been built from upright stakes covered with palm fronds. His wife is dead, but three sons and two daughters live with him and assist him in farming. He has land outside the village on which he grows manioc, beans, cará, and sweetpotatoes. He raises much of the food which he and his family consume.

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His money income is almost entirely derived from the sale of manioc meal. However, between planting intervals he goes out on task jobs to the nearby fazendas. The money he receives is used for buying clothing, tools, and additional food. He is also chief of police at the Post but receives no money for this.

Japão was baptized in the Protestant faith and is a member of the Sociedade Evangelista. He was taught to read and write by the Protestant missionary at the Post. He reads the Bible in Spanish and preaches to the Indians in Portuguese.

[795]

[797]

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He likes to travel and claims he traveled much while working on the telegraph line and when he was a cattle driver.

SILVERSMITH

Antonio Vicenti (native name *Pátiã*) is 47 years old. He was born in Bananal and was baptized a Catholic when quite young. He learned to read and write and became a Protestant when he was 12 years of age. He reads the Bible and speaks, besides Terena and Portuguese, Spanish and a little Guarani. He has a daughter and two sons, one of whom was in Italy during World War II as a soldier in the Brazilian Army. He has lost four children and his wife, who died about 15

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one room there is a bed and hammocks, and the other room is set up with shelves and a counter. His goods are on the shelves or on the floor behind the counter. He has a beam scale suspended from the ceiling. In 159 [352] [353] [405]

Domingos and his family cultivate a large field outside the village, growing manioc and sugarcane. He produces manioc meal and raw sugar, which he sells in his store. In Taunay he buys rice, maté tea, beans, salt, kerosene, matches, cigarettes, soap, white sugar, and candy, which he sells to the Indians. [241] [443] [438]

Domingos learned to read and write and to do simple arithmetic in the mission school. Until 15, he worked with his father on his little farm. Later he went periodically to work on the neighboring fazendas. In 1932 he began selling meat and other goods, but when his wife died he abandoned the store for some years and worked away from the village. [891] [997]

CARTER

Antonio Aurelio was born in Bananal about 65 years ago. He is married and has six grown children. Aurelio, his wife, and four of his children live in a five-room, painted adobe house with a tile roof. The furniture consists of home-made tables, chairs, and benches, and a bed for Aurelio and his wife. The children sleep in hammocks. In his front room Aurelio has an old typewriter and on a shelf two old cameras, which he takes great pride in being able to use. [592] [352] [513] [405] [416]

Aurelio owns two horses, a cow, a calf, a dog, 10 chickens, and 4 turtles. Outside the village he cultivates five lots, growing principally manioc. His daughters make manioc meal, which he sells to the Indians. Aurelio himself transports goods and people between the railroad station at Taunay and the Post. He charges 10 to 20 cruzeiros for a trip to the station, some 4 km. away. [231] [241] [494]

Aurelio learned reading, writing, and arithmetic from a Brazilian while he was working away from Bananal. He later studied with a Protestant missionary. He now reads the Bible in Portuguese, Spanish, and Guaraní. He understands a little English. He reads newspapers and is the scribe of the village. He has traveled widely, first as a cattle driver and later when he gave evidence about Indian affairs in Rio de Janeiro. [212] [297] [191]

BASKET MAKER

José Gardini (native name *Kohiloo*) is about 80 years of age. His father, *Juné*, came from the Chaco. He cannot read or write and speaks Portuguese poorly. His wife left him long ago and he now lives with his six children, who help him cultivate his little farm. [59] [55] [212] [191] [542]

His one-room house is made of upright stakes covered with palm fronds, which also cover the roof. There are only one large bench and a rough platform that serves for a bed. Heaped in a corner are some clay pots, old baskets, fans, and piles of material for weaving. [342] [352] [353]

On his land Gardini plants manioc, maize, beans, and pumpkins, and around his house he has a few orange and mango trees. He also owns a mare and a dog. [241] [231]

Gardini came to Bananal when he was 12 years of age, having to flee with his father from the Terena village of Cachoeirinha when a Brazilian farmer attacked the Indians there. Since coming to Bananal he has never left the village. Today he lives on the lot which belonged to his father. Twice a week he works in his fields; the rest of the time he makes fans, which he sells for 5 cruzeiros apiece. He can make two fans a day if he can sell them. Sometimes he gets a large order from Taunay. [166] [285] [435]

STOCKKEEPER

José da Silva is about 50 years of age. His native name is *Malabite* (bald). His father was born in Ipegue and his mother in Cachoeirinha. He is married and has two sons and two daughters. [551]

He and his family, together with a grandchild and two orphan boys, live in a two-room stake-walled house. There are a table, some benches, and a bed in the house. Sometimes one or two Indian boys help José and during the time live with him. [592] [352]

He has land outside the village on which he grows manioc, bananas, and sugarcane. He owns about 50 head of stock—10 horses, the rest cows, bulls, and calves. He also has a number of chickens, four dogs, and a few turtles. He sells some milk to the Indians, makes cheese, and also sells meat now and then to his neighbors. [241] [231] [438]

As a young man, José worked on Brazilian farms where he learned to take care of livestock. He came to Bananal in 1924 and brought a few [231]

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Tribal law and the mechanisms of its enforcement have disappeared, and as the extended family was the primary unit for political protection it, too, has disappeared. The Terena family, today, is an individual family unit after the Brazilian pattern. 178
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Enough has been said to account for the break-down of the old class structure and kinship organization of the Terena and the gradual appearance of a new pattern of social organization. One expression of this break-down is the disuse into which the kinship terminology has fallen. As compared with a half dozen other kinship systems studied in Mato Grosso by the writer, the kinship terminology of the Terena was the most difficult to record. The younger people have only a confused knowledge of their kinship terminology. As the Terena are bilingual and as the family organization is now practically similar to that of their Brazilian neighbors, the young people use Portuguese terms in referring to their relatives. Even the older people remember the traditional terms with difficulty and a great deal of checking was necessary in order to bring about an understanding of the traditional kinship system. 178
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The break-down of the moieties as mechanisms for the organization of ceremonial opposition has already been mentioned. The fact that the young Terena ignore the moieties and have nothing to say about them is significant. The older Terena will speak about the moieties only when directly questioned, and many of them have only vague notions about the details of moiety activity in the past. The fact that the moieties no longer regulate marriage is the best evidence of their break-down. The Terena state that in the past individuals could marry only members of their own moiety. Today this no longer holds true. The present chief of Bananal, Marcolino Lili, is married to his opposite, and marriages between opposites are now common with no stigma attached to the married couple. That the moieties no longer regulate marriage nor organize ceremonial activities appears to indicate their disappearance as active units of social organization. Like the class structure, the moieties live only in the memories of the old people. [829]
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We might well ask, what then is the present social organization of the Terena? The Terena do not consider themselves Brazilians nor do the 178
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and led to a process of reintegration and social stability.

Associated with security in land tenure, and as part of the general policy of protection provided by the Brazilian Indian Service, is the special legal status, which the Terena, along with other Indians, enjoy. In all disputes either between the Terena themselves or between a Terena and a Brazilian, cases are tried by the courts of the Indian Service. In this way Indian rights are protected, particularly in cases where the dispute involves an Indian and a Brazilian. In minor crimes committed within the reservation, the manager of the Post has the right to try cases. These crimes usually consist of petty thefts, fighting, and sex crimes involving the pregnancy of unmarried and often under-age girls. Punishment consists in the culprit being sent to another reservation for a period of time during which he has to perform hard labor. It is a common sight when visiting reservations to see a number of these men performing the menial tasks of cleaning the premises, carrying water and wood, and performing other nonspecialized tasks. In cases involving murder the Indian is tried either in the regional headquarters of the Indian Service or by a representative sent by the Indian Service from Rio de Janeiro. The Indian Service has a special penal post in the State of São Paulo where Indians of this region serve out their sentences. In addition to the special treatment of crimes, the Indian Service exercises some control over the movements of the Indians in and out of the reservation. Permission to leave the reservation has to be obtained from the manager, who thus has a general knowledge of the whereabouts of Indians when they are away from the Post. While an Indian is away at work, the manager sees that his house and property are protected and that his cultivated land is not taken by another. If the Indian is in distress and needs money to return to the Post the manager assists him financially.

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The presence of a permanent home and the protection of person and property provided by the Indian Service makes a stable community life possible for the Terena. This group life maintains the Terena language. In each home the parents teach their children to speak Terena. At about 7 years of age they enter the Indian Service or Protestant-school where they are taught to

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speak, read, and write Portuguese. But Terena remains the language of the village. Among themselves the Terena, young and old, use their own language. It is but natural, therefore, that certain Terena customs, beliefs, and values should be perpetuated through the medium of the native language. Shamanism, folklore, customs of greeting, and attitudes to one another and the Brazilians are thus maintained.

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We have dealt, so far, with the conditions which have led to the integration of the Terena as a group and to the perpetuation of Terena Indianism. It still remains to be seen how the Terena are articulated to the non-Indian world around them. The primary contact agent and principal molding force, of course, is the Indian Service as represented by the Post manager. The manager is the patron of the Indians. From him come medical, legal, and economic assistance. The nature of these interrelations has already been discussed. But in addition to these primary necessities, the Post manager plays a role of far wider personal significance. It is true that this role varies with the personality of the manager but all are required to provide leadership in maintaining satisfactory relationship between the Indians and to develop a certain degree of patriotic feeling among the natives under their charge. This the manager does by displaying the flag and in leading the singing on important State holidays; in providing industrious natives with the services of pure-bred bulls and roosters supplied by the Indian Service; in giving small prizes to children who do well in the school; by supporting at least one of the football teams by providing sweaters and pennants; and by taking personal interest in the families who measure up to the demands of the Service.

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As the manager is the highest authority and social leader in the village, it follows that status among the Terena is measured in relation to the patronage and good will of the manager. Outstanding Terena are principally men who stand high in the regard of the manager. To them the manager gives positions of trust such as representing him in commercial connections with the fazendas, representing Indian affairs at headquarters, and holding the position of policemen in the village. To these men the manager gives special assistance and materials in building houses and

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Preface

101 In the area of scattered thickets and gallery forests /matas
133 de beira-rio/ of southern Mato Grosso there lives one of the
197 largest native groups in Brazil, the Terena, of the Guaná fami-
161 ly and Aruak language. They number some 5,000 individuals,
a very high figure for a Brazilian tribe, since most of them do
not add up to a tenth of this.

463 Travelers on the Estrada de Ferro Noroeste do Brasil
[496] /Northwest Brazil Railroad/ that crosses the region can see them
hoe in hand working on farm plots, on horseback tending the
cattle of some fazendeiro, in the maintenance gangs of the
railroad itself, or, more rarely, selling carandá palm fans at
the stations.

177 It is difficult to identify them as Indians, since they dress,
wear their hair, work, and live like the poor inlanders

142 /sertanejos/ of the region. One or another of them will present

● 191 a revealing Mongolian fold or the black, straight, stiff hair
characteristic of the Indian and nearly all of them speak Portu-
162 guese with an odd accent. Yet even these traits fail to attract
171 much attention in a region where there are numerous Paraguayans
and Bolivians with similar characteristics.

619 In order to find out whether they are natives, it is necessary
to talk to them or listen to the local people, who are always
prepared to identify them and to point out numerous negative
peculiarities which, in their eyes, make them different and
set them apart.

121 Indians of this sort, so little native, are not of interest
177 to the classical ethnologist, who is interested precisely in those
untouched groups that best preserve the peculiarities of their

[114] traditional culture. For this very reason they have been the
subject of very few studies. Yet they present as much, if not
more interest than isolated tribes, because only their /10/
study will lead us to a better understanding of the process where-
by tribal peoples are integrated into national societies and of

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Mbaya SK11

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Guaikurú cacique--RCO). The latter, to gain the Guaná's /good/will, married a woman cacique of theirs...."(47)

47. 1910, I:25.

Aside from the Exoaladi, there is information on another Guanã group that had joined with the Mbaya-Guaikurú. They were the Kinikináu, across from a branch or local group: "The tribe of the Equinquinao... is divided: one part lives in the Chaco, close to 21° 56' latitude, eight leagues from the Paraguay River; the rest are /36/ incorporated into the Mbaya."(48)

48. Azara, 1809, II:87;

cf. 1943:132-133.

In this respect it must be noted that the interaction between the Guaikurú and these Kinikináu was such as to lead a chronicler of the end of the last century, João Severiano da Fonseca, to make a mistake, when he recorded a series of words of the Mbaya language, certain that he was taking down Kinikináu nouns!(49) This shows the intensity of the process

49. Cf. João Severiano da Fonseca, 1880; I:305-311.

In this book the author regards the Kinikináu as belonging to a branch of the Guaikurú and compares their vocabulary with a list of Layana words. The chronicler did not realize that he had taken as informants Kinikináu individuals who spoke the Mbaya language as their own. He writes at a certain point that "the Quinquinaus are also known as Guaycurys, a name that plainly reveals their origin."

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[171] or catechization, in the Americas, in Asia, or in Africa, as is well attested to by a copious bibliography, the Terêna, obviously, did not escape this contingency. In the two preceding [82] chapters, especially in Chapter VI, we paid considerable attention to the consequences of religious proselytism, insofar as the configuration of the communities that underwent it is concerned (dividing them into two antagonistic politico-religious groups), as well as the role that the missions played and continue to play in the acculturation process. It remains for us to indicate, in this chapter, to what extent the activities of the missions permit us to regard them as convergent factors in the assimilation process.

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²⁷¹ As was already said, religious proselytism cannot be understood if we take the missions as a whole, without differentiating the Catholic from the Protestant action. Both have aspects that are peculiarly their own. The action of the Catholic missions, especially in the 19th century, must have been relatively efficient in the task of breaking down and disordering the old Terêna religion, even though it did not succeed in introducing a system of beliefs that was more or less coherent and able to diminish the "cultural distance" between that tribal population and the European civilization represented by its missionaries. It seems that the only result of this missionary activity--as far as the tribal ideology is concerned--was to create a new identity for the Indian: that of Christian. This identity was accepted by the Terêna as the equivalent of that of "civilizado," but it was not on this account accepted as such by the "Purutuya," to whom the Indian continued to be a

[829] "hick." The distance between the "Purutuya" and the Indian, [291] at that time, was much greater than the one that exists today, [191] in view of the fact, for example, that the Terêna only began to use clothes or to become a characteristically bilingual group in the 20th century, to cite some of the most evident [295] aspects. The concept of "Catholic," as a category of personal [829] or group identification, arose recently; as the result of

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*177 rather actively in the social mobility of the Terêna, impelling
 463 him to try to change his "trade" or, better, to acquire skill
 585 in a nonmanual trade, wherever the opportunity arises. Since
 824 what little craft work to be found in the aldeia /142/ itself,
 869 such as metal work, leather work, or tailoring, is not sufficient
 167 to exempt those who exercise it from agricultural tasks and
 work on the fazendas, a move to the cities (physical mobility)
 appears to the Terêna as the sole possibility for a real change
 of occupation (horizontal mobility) while at the same time it
 might raise him in social life (vertical mobility). While such
 a new occupation is not always achieved, as in the case of
 Arlindo, the attempts and efforts exerted to obtain it always
 yield new experiences to the individual and, indirectly, to the
 469 group. We may conclude that the labor market, both urban
 167 and rural, to the extent that it draws the Terêna outside his
aldeia, is creating conditions for his assimilation.

Divergent Factors

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 *177 1. The existence of a peculiar physical appearance as
 563 well as language, creates barriers which are extraordinarily
 369 difficult to overcome, since the Terêna is discriminated against
 8 wherever he goes. This applies to the aldeia Indians, and in a
 563 sense to those on the fazendas--as far as the phenotype is con-
 8 cerned--more than among those living in the cities, who for
 197 the most part speak Portuguese correctly and without an accent,
 while at the same time they dress better and are practically
 undifferentiated from the neo-Brazilian of the less-favored
 G classes. Their very physical type blends with that of the
 142 biologically mestizo population (207) which, on its part, never

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 563 207. We say "biologically
 184 mestizo" in spite of being
 aware that we are falling

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into a tautology. We wish thereby to make it clear that the (interethnic) mestizos referred to so far still maintain the same style of life and the same group consciousness that characterize the "biologically pure" Terêna. Despite cross-breeding, they continue to be Terêna and to be acknowledged as such by the community.

claims the condition of descent from Indians but, on the contrary, shows great contempt for the "bugre" / "wild Indian" / -- the term by which the non-native population pejoratively calls the Indians of the region. But the aldeia Terêna, for the most part, speak badly and with an accent, aside from dressing in a more rustic way, whether they are men or women. This makes them easy to identify wherever they go, making it possible for the "bolicheiros," (208) for example, to wait on

208. Cf. note 141.

them always /143/ last and not infrequently unwillingly, in flagrant discrimination. Many times there have been cases of unwarranted attacks on groups of individuals while making purchases in the cities. One of them, with serious consequences, occurred in Miranda, involving a Terêna family from Cachoeirinha and a group of city policemen: the chief victim says that he was standing on a sidewalk, along with his son and other companions, when two or three soldiers came up to them and insulted them; following the reaction of his son, although it was a timid one, the policemen attacked him, dispersing the group with shots; one of these shots hit him, making him fall to the ground with a leg wound. This cost him

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*177 some time in the hospital, at the expense of the S. P. I.,
 563 which tried to file charges against the aggressors, but without
 369 any positive results, according to the information we got.
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 563 This shows how much the mere presence of the Indian outside
 his aldeia, i.e., in a store or in a city, can provoke discrimi-
 natory attitudes that can go as far as aggression. The mere
 appearance of the Indian, especially the aldeia Indian, makes
 him distinguishable wherever he goes. Naturally, this hinders
 the occurrence of the known phenomenon of "passing" from a
 minority group (ethnic or national) into the dominant majority
 group.

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 *177 Knowledge of the Portuguese language is indispensable
 191 to the Terena today, in whatever situation he is found: it
 369 facilitates interethnic relations, broadening enormously his
 area of social or merely geographical mobility. So much so
 that in the aldeas held as traditionalistic and ethnically
 homogeneous, only children up to six or eight years do not
 speak Portuguese. In these aldeas, there are many old people
 who never got to speak Portuguese correctly, because they
 lived at a time when the relations of the community with the
 Brazilian society were of such an enslaving nature that the
 Indian could not choose his work or change bosses. With the
 advent of official protection--as we saw in Chapter IV--he got
 to be more his own master, able to choose the alternative that
 was best for him. He thus acquired a minimum of freedom,
 though quite a limited one in the face of the meager regional
 labor market. For this reason, there are no men between 15
 6 and 60 years who do not speak Portuguese relatively well in
 [184] those aldeas classified as old or traditionalistic. In the aldeas
 more recently formed or of multiple ethnic composition, both
 children and /144/ elders speak Portuguese because they learned
 it thanks to contact with neo-Brazilian families (on the fazendas
 which they left to form the new aldeas) or through their rela-
 tions with individuals of different tribes (such as the Guaikuru
 in Lalima, or the Kaiwá in Francisco Horta). But in the cities,

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*177 *But in the cities,*
191 i.e., among the urbanized Terêna, the knowledge of the
369 Terêna language is rarer among the new generations and more
561 common among the old people (emigrated from aldeas).

*177 There is no need to emphasize the importance of the
191 Terêna language and the Mongoloid phenotype as factors that
142 help to hinder assimilation, since they are characterized as
"racial marks."

*177 2. There are other factors, however, that act in a diver-
212 gent way in the assimilation process, while hindering the attain-
464 ment by the Terêna of better-paid and more stable jobs. Such
is the lack of documents, already mentioned earlier, when we
[465] discussed the reservist's card. The "passes" supplied by the
Serviço de Proteção aos Índios are not accepted by employers
or, at best, are only partially accepted, i.e., the bosses,
claiming that the "passes" do not have the same value as the
work card (to get which it is necessary to have a birth certifi-
cate from the registry office), or, at least, the reservist's card,
end up by rationalizing the low wages they pay. The interviews
we carried out, however, show that there is already an aware-
ness among the Terêna of the fact that it is indispensable to
possess some identification, especially a work card, without
[369] which they cannot obtain better jobs. Although it is the Indians
living in the cities who feel the lack of identification most
acutely, those living in aldeas are already beginning to see how
necessary this is, especially those who live in communities close
to the urban centers (such as Aldeinha, Passarinho, Moreira,
and Cachoeirinha).

*177 While the craft, industrial, or merely urban occupations
461 (public sanitation, school and movie employees, servants, etc.)
369 exercise a great attraction for the Terêna, it must be said that
511 once their objectives are realized, it is common for them to
feel dislocated in the new occupation, to the extent that they
return to the aldeia to work on their farm plots, even if this
results in lowering their standard of living. Even those Terêna
who have reasonably good jobs in the cities and who enjoy a